§59 Fathers are also seen handling and playing with babies, and often refer to their young offspring with pride. Despite these patterns of good infant care and continual exposure to the baby, occasional instances were observed where mothers slapped or roughly shook restless and fretful one year old babies.

§60 Unless the expected course of succession fails to appear, parents manifest only casual interest in progressing on infant's development. Occasionally a mother will wish to support a young baby in an upright position. Only once were parents seen walking while supporting a fifteen month old between them. The removal of the half-year old child from the baby pack or from nightly bound blankets also affords the child an opportunity to develop through exercise. While the appearance of the first tooth is noted by parents, little attention is focused on this phase of development. No attempt is made to encourage finger walking nor is this behavior much conditioned by fatigue. Noticeable inward rotation sensitivity were not observed or reported. In no early years, of course, a baby, being closely bound and tightly diapered, has little opportunity to explore its genitals.

Childhood

§54 The transition from infancy to childhood among the Ifaluk is universally recognized as occurring at between three and four years of age, when the child becomes "half aware." As is customary in child study, we shall anticipate this transition somewhat and refer to childhood as that period of life which follows shortly after the infant has taken its first erect-and which terminates with the onset of puberty.

§61 Although the first attention to ephemeral external events between one and two years of age, it is never harshly introduced at this time nor is it seriously expected to take hold so early. In this time, especially if it is a woman, diaper shifts are discontinued and the mother begins to take the child with her when she goes into the bush for her vine work. Verbal explanation and encouragement are little used while the child is so young. Accompanied by one another of an children, the toddler is expected to see himself. "That tree is not for play. Every week I take him to cutter. Every week he tell me." Nothing was denied. "I never say nothing. He learn himself." In summer the eighteen month to two year old child is allowed to play without pants or with pants (or trousers) in which a long slit has been cut in the crotch. This device permits him to eliminate without soiling his clothes. Another practice is to free the child's extremities as soon as he wishes in the morning and avoid him untill the house is astirs. Usually parents also recognize the advantage of preventing the youngsters from drinking any liquids during the hours immediately preceding bedtime.

No serious notice is taken of evening or soiling before two and a half or three years of age. From four years a sometimes inherently regarded as too early an age at which to demand complete cleanliness training, and often children continue to wet at night until this age. Gradually, however, the child is expected to be trained at three and from then on begins to be scolded for daytime failures. "Look you dirty boy." Dorothy Phone said to three year old David before she changed him. "You dirty your pants." Some parents also administer spanking at this time to enforce ephemeral control. While economic events in older children, the changing place of the child may be pushed with some which is described every morning. Together with learning habits of ephemeral control, the child also acquires certain attitudes

[illegible] CULTURE AND STRUCTURE OF EARLY SOCIETY

[illegible] modes of their patterns are the development of defensive aggressivity, and flexibility.

Defensive is directly learned from the interactions of parents showing children against aggression but is also indirectly assimilated in the absence of a frustrating and authoritarian ecological structure. Following the child's emotional rejection, we now blocks or frustrations on on to the path of the developing ego, although it cannot be denied that the personality continues to carry the memory of this trauma whose overcome continues to interfere with the infantile development of ego functions. Kindly parents, therefore, do not demand self-assertive and self-abnegation which in an authoritarian climate may undermine self-esteem and engender hostility.* In the absence of such contingencies or hostility, the positive frames of parents against aggression can take a firm hold. This learning, it must be pointed out, further takes place in a personality whose emotional responsiveness, because of the emotionally hardening tendencies of the parents, is not being strongly stimulated. Positive injunctions or defensive are therefore encountered by other forces in child's environment. The person may be characterized as one of inconsequent reactions, and it is in such a consistent setting that the tendencies of aggressivity, emotional isolation, and defensive become consolidated. The intrafamilistic process influences the adoption of a religious view holding a stern, authoritarian, establishment deity such as might be found both in a harsh parental image.

The previously achieved degree of ego mastery is maintained by the fact that these and rebuffs are not used as disciplinary measures. In the absence of a strongly introjected sense of duty and obedience, the child, in a considerable extent, decides his own course of behavior against the background standards of his group. This does not imply failure to teach the child what is expected of him. The emphasis is still teaching, however, is to preserve the child's subjective, as often than is further aided by the absence of constant which needs, failures, supervision, or overprotection. The flexible child finds this freedom in develop own possibility and independence integrated perceiving the value of these controls as defenses against the inconsistent effects of emotional rejection and aggressive dependence. He gradually drops the over-forms of a compulsive search for love and a terror of that he would be in a society that not only possessed a satisfactory of affection but also permitted the development of aggressive motivation. The improved has been child to "please" not much than to live the child to guided way be understood as a desire to avoid inconsistent punishments. Apparently it is not not the punishments is to succeed in succeed. On the other hand, it must be recognized that some parents execute these supervision and restore discipline than a generally approved of.

The lack of strong parental direction and the fact that the child is left to learn many cultural routines for himself have consequences not only in further preventing the formation of a strong superego based on the parental image, but in encouraging nonconformity and self-sufficiency. They also make any plan of enforcement [illegible] to him. Such encouragement would be of little avail without the good schools and which originally prepared the ego to exercise forms of active mastery. Early necessary for nonconformity in providing the emotional readiness to answer problem situations, plays a large role in developing the

*The [illegible] and [illegible] may [illegible] and [illegible] are very, [illegible] [illegible]

9: Ethnography 8-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nabane ND12
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the youngest. Instead the choice of a name depended on the whim of the parents. This name was retained until adolescence. Teknonymy was not admitted.[1]

For a year and a half or two years the moss bag served for carrying the baby. In this container he could either hang from the lower branches of a tree and rocked. Following discontinuance of the baby pack children up to four continued to wear a knee-length dress or coat, cause-hide diaper lined with moss. Trousers for a boy initiated the achievement of sanitary training. Before verbal instruction in the use of the fork came to be given, eating habits were inculcated with the aid of a mountain goat's horn. To restore a child who had been released from the moss bag slept in a cradle swing. In order for greater protection against cold he passed the night snuggled to mother. Babies received encouragement to crawl but were not allowed to stand erect too early for fear of injuring the limbs. Nobody discouraged finger sucking nor did the "black dirt" coming to the surface of the baby's pores was regarded as "baby food." A mother removed a loose milk tooth by pinching it between index finger and thumb. With the tooth she described a circle on the crown of the child's head, repeating the formula, "Rabbit tooth, rabbit tooth." The rite pronounced the rapid replacement of the lost tooth. The extracted tooth rolled up curled in the split of a dead tree. If it were thrown on the ground future teeth would grow in at wrong places. Young children spent themselves with bull-roarers, the blades of which were often decorated with clotted or animal blood designs; buzz toys, twirled on twisted hair, and simple swings. Fire did not constitute playthings.

Kaska parents did not reject disciplining in the event of a child failing to take over socially approved habits. Discipline ideally attached to the like-sexed parent, although maternally the father exerted more authority because she was in constant association with the young child. If toilet training did not occur in a reasonable time, a child's hands might be lightly whipped with a willow switch. Disgust for the body excreta was also introduced. Children of the same sex could witness and delineate copulation in the bush but visions of opposite sex were early prohibited. Any degree of intimacy being brought to light was punished by whipping, while masturbation was prone for its magical association with future hunting ability. A girl who stole might be hung by the feet and whipped on the legs. My women witnessed this punishment. A father beat his son for theft. A child of five was who stole might have an awl point pressed against its fingers or toes. A six-year-old boy received whippings with a length of knotted rabbits. People felt that a boy who showed early aggressive tendencies would become unusually wise in manner. Children were dissuaded from any play by parents pointing out how it interfered with a mature boy's hunting prowess and could cause a girl's death. Several mothers said to me, "Your eyes are going to be blind." A matriarch's hands were stripped with willow switch.

Sex training received active attention in late childhood. A youth of 12 began to accompany his father-in-law and learned to track, ambush, and butcher game and became familiar with the lore of animals. A girl continued to spend much time with her mother, who encouraged feminine pursuits. Girls were dissuaded from playing with

[1] Information for this report for the Thagi. Jones, Study of the Tahltan of Alaska (1944), 37.